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721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

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This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

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While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

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The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[80] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[81] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[80] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[81] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[32]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[33]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[32] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[33] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[87]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[88]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[89]

[87] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[88] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[89] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

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[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

[176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 237. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Jouet*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.